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A GLIMPSE

THROUGH

Willis (R 4)

THE GLOOM,

IN A CANDID DISCUSSION

OR

THE POLICY OF PEACE,

AND AN IMPARTIAL REVIEW OF

THE PROSPECT BEFORE US;

WITH A GLANCE AT

THE MARQUIS OF LANDSDOWNE'S

LATE SPEECH AND MOTION.

QUISQUIS EXIT VITÆ, SCRIBAM, COLOR. Hor.

I will speak out, though I should be guillotined hereafter for lack of patriotic furor,
or prosecuted at present for a Libel from the excess of it.

PAMPHLET, PAGE 5.

A NEW EDITION,

WITH CORRECTIONS AND A POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON :

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1794.

Price Two Skillings and Sixpence,

A GLIMPSE

THROUGH

THE GLOOM

IN A GRIMM DISCUSSION

25

THE POLICY OF THE CEC

WITH AN IMMEDIATE EDITION

THE PROSPERITY BEFORE US.

WITH A GLIMPSE AT

THE MARCHES OF DISDOWNS

LATE PUBLICATION



CHURCHILL'S LIBRARY, READING, COLOR. 15.

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR BY J. R. GREEN, 1851. (Price 1/-.)

ONE HUNDRED COPIES ARE RESERVED FOR THE AUTHOR.

PRINTED IN LONDON.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Sheets were published in Scotland, in a private Edition, about the middle of December ; one hundred Copies only were printed and distributed to Friends ; they were well meant, both with respect to the War, and to repel the Ardour of *immediate Reform*, and were so received. At the instigation of many of those esteemed Friends, and with the same intentions, the Author, with some Corrections and Additions, now submits his Sentiments to the Public eye.

DISCUSSION.

THE following effects were pro-
duced in Scotland in a private library upon the middle of
December; one hundred copies only were printed and the
number of friends that were sent out must be less
than half that number. At the instant of sending
of the *Wise*, and of local distribution of *Antennae Rectoria*
had been to receive. All the illustrations in the
second part have been made in consequence of the
use of the *Geographical and Astronomical* parts of the
same work to the public at large.

solid w^t; behi^s v^t o^r i^s b^t m^t a^t d^t h^t t^t o^t p^t
 v^t s^t l^t d^t v^t b^t e^t g^t **A GLIMPSE** ^{v^t c^t q^t m^t o^t h^t}

b^t n^t o^t a^t r^t m^t i^t v^t o^t a^t v^t v^t d^t b^t e^t l^t v^t i^t o^t
THROUGH

o^t s^t g^t o^t i^t " i^t d^t l^t o^t b^t) d^t n^t o^t v^t s^t d^t
THE GLOOM,
 T^t a^t l^t m^t h^t b^t o^t n^t i^t f^t o^t r^t b^t n^t s^t a^t i^t s^t t^t

&c. &c. &c.

THE tide of party flows so strong in this country, involving both the interests and passions of men, as to hurry every opposing effort of discrimination along with it, in an undistinguished course;

prejudice warps, and zeal betrays the judgment. An impartial publication is almost unique; every writer of the present day, and indeed for many days past, draws his pen decisively on the side of Ministry or Opposition—

that sober medium, where truth is usually to

be met with, is industriously avoided ; yet while all complain, that she is disfigured by sophistry, or violated by faction, no adventurer is found hardy enough (^{HODORANT} sad proof that “the age of chivalry is past”) to fall forth in defence of this fairest and most injured damsel. There seems, in general, to be no surer inference to be drawn from political writings, than from an Old Bailey solicitor’s defence of the prisoner at the bar, and mostly for the same reason, because they are paid for them. To escape the influence of this powerful vortex, the most distant station is, of course, the safest. At many hundred miles distance from the capital, robed in my old flannel night-gown, I issue my oracles to my fellow citizens from my great elbow-chair. This is not indeed the ordinary seat of inspiration ; but besides that they have ordered all these matters otherwise in France, and that I sit much more at my ease than on a joint stool, I claim, as the organ of truth, a more dignified seat than the tripod of the Sybil or the Pythian, labouring “ambiguas spargere voces.”

voices," is to palter with us in a double sense."—I cannot promise that my opinions shall completely harmonize with those of any man, but that they shall be strictly my own—*fact, their basis, and their object, the public good.* The picture is drawn, as far as in the power of my pencil; *ad vivum.* I will speak out, though I should be guillotined hereafter, for lack of patriotic furor, or prosecuted, at present, for a libel, from the excess of it, as nothing can now stop me. The grand feature of political consideration is obviously the war with France—I should rejoice to say, the peace with France, and as honourable, as devotion can make its wish for it is heaven: I will do every justice to the administration, for the motives of this war, whether as a war of necessity, security, or experiment. It was, in every point of view, justifiable in the outset; and as a more than sevenfold shield to Ministers, the people, from one or all of these principles, demanded it in an unequivocal *affirated* voice, and who is there that shall, or at least should,

dare to question the opinion, the will of the people, decidedly expressed—that unwritten charter, paramount to Magna Charta, and to all the laws and statutes built upon its basis? I shall not stay, therefore, to enquire, in this place, whether there was an efficient government in France to treat with, or what were their offers of advantage or forbearance. Sedition was said to be gnawing the very timbers of our constitution, and not with silent tooth. I confess I never caught these vermin at work—but an alarm so sounded might well operate “*Martem accendere cantu,*” and our allies were trembling through every limb, from the imminent horrors of a French invasion. The intolerable avowal of France to extend its system, subversive of all systems, over the face of the earth, to stand forth the general champion of treason and rebellion, and to establish that universal empire, attempted in vain under Louis XIV. naturally summoned the surrounding Powers to arms, if they considered it as more

than

than a gasconade, to crush the monstrous project in its birth.

I have the utmost horror, in common with every good citizen, of the infuriate excesses, the more than savage ferocity of France. Mr. Burke may now lend us his entire formula of invective, with the advantage of its being most justly applied; his whole quiver of execration may now be emptied—there should be some store of thunder, “red with uncommon wrath,” to blast such detestable barbarians. Humanity shudders, and recoils from the recital where-

“Horror ubique animos simul ipsa silentia terrent.”

Where Danton, Robespierre, and such murderous ministers, immolate whole hecatombs of human victims upon the altars of the Molochs of their Pandemonium; every bond that binds society is burst asunder; every softer claim of love or nature is dissolved; the Convention belied its thanks and plaudits to the son, who rejoiced in the ignominious death of his father;

the

the murderer of a parent's fame, the parricide of his memory. This is a stab into the very vitals of that *nature* they alone affect to revere ; it is insult to the brute to compare it with such abhorred miscreants ; the bear loves, and licks, and forms its young, and has that love returned ; but bears, as Mr. Burke says, are not *philosophers*. Filial love is surely implanted, or let me hug the delusion, in the human breast, it is entwined with the heart-strings, and can scarce be separated ; " filial ingratitude ! is it not as this mouth shall tear this hand, for lifting food to't ?" On the pure simple basis of natural affection is the Chinese government most mildly extended over 100 millions of souls. It embraces the wide circle of empire in one indissoluble patriarchal chain ; the service is perfect freedom, and the system seems most worthy to have been bestowed by God himself.

As to their King, the mildest of a mild race, his murder was most foul ; it was every way horrible, and unjust ; the utmost punishment their

their law prescribed for every crime he could commit, was deposition and the forfeiture of his crown. He was condemned by a small majority of his jury, when two-thirds were requisite for the conviction of the most profligate offender; though now, indeed, their juries are only required to hear any part of any side of the question.—Ill requited, much injured man, may history draw down the tear of posterity upon his fate, and humanity revere the page, made sacred by his wrongs; for his queen, like her mother, is avenged now, amidst of gloom and woe and banishment, *"Fair Austria spread her mournful charms,
The Queen, the beauty, call'd the world to arms."*

*But a world in arms could not save her from
these hell-hounds, and will scarce avenge her.*

*But let us pause for a moment, nor tremble
to be just. Are not, or were not these monsters
men? "If you tickle them, do they not laugh?
"if you prick them, do they not bleed?" little
as they now value their own or others blood.*

Let us ask ourselves, if the war that thunders at all their gates, is not in a degree the source of these horrors * ? Has it not hastened, has it not possibly caused the murders of Louis and Antoinette, of the twenty-one deputies, and of the multitudes less known to fame ?—Was not the Prussian and German invasion avowedly to restore the old detested and detestable government, to raise a new Bastile, and force them to renounce the very God of their idolatry ? That Constitution of 1789, which the allies now hold out to them, was *then* effective, and probably might have been firmly established but for this rude interference.—Have we not, by every

* I speak right out, as a plain unvarnished man, uninformed but from public sources of intelligence ; the cabinet may be masters of facts far beyond my ken, whereon well grounded expectation may be founded ; these, if they exist, will doubtless be divulged to Parliament. Circumstances too may alter, though I rather hope than expect, in our favour ; this is then the crisis that the people should know their situation ; but if the voice of their representatives, after solemn discussion, should be still for war, it will be mine and every man's duty, by unanimity to consolidate our efforts, and make *every stroke tell*. I shall then repress my sentiments and my sighs.

means of force or fraud, possessed ourselves of their towns and territories;

"Et dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirit?"

But thus distracted by foreign attacks, and domestic conspiracies, and inflamed to madness by Robespierian harangues, the many headed monster became desperately wild, "cried havock, and let slip the dogs of war." I do not know that treaties would have been more durable under the auspices of their God of nature, than, I am sorry to say, they have been in the name of the holy and undivided Trinity; but it is probable, in times of uproar less universal, this bloody faction might not have forced their way to uncontrouled power; such infernal spirits ride only in the very whirlwind and in the fury of the storm; the people in a cooler moment might have shuddered at a system so merciless and sanguinary, and the * Brissotine party, more

mild but obstinate, might have been induced to yield

* It has been understood, that they made some offers, previous to the war; to give up their design upon Holland, to

mild and placable, with some drops of the milk of human kindness in their veins, though partly crimsoned with their Sovereign's blood, might, had we met their proffers, have still preserved their ascendancy in the Convention of France.

But be they what they may, men or devils, it is for us only too look to ourselves, “*ne quid detrimenti res publica capiat.*” We have just closed a campaign, the most bloody and invertebrate Europe ever witnessed; every private soldier on either side has fought under the frenzy of the passions; the condensed power of Europe has been brought to bear upon the various quarters of France. The campaign opened with the most brilliant successes—the Republican army was not only defeated in three successive battles, but compelled to yield us commercial advantages, and to surrender St. Domingo, were, it was said, a part of the proposals; but if there was no fixed government in France, if each faction only strutted its hour upon the stage, all compacts were vain, nor had we then tried, if the nation at large had made it a common cause, and the experiment was certainly worth a trial; still these consequences are dreadful.

engagements,

engagements, but completely, as they term it, “*disorganised*” by the dereliction of Dumourier —their barriers were burst, and Valenciennes and Condé were surrendered to the arms of the allies; yet it has closed with the Prince of Cobourg’s retreat, bordering on a repulse, from his object of Maubeuge; the French call it a defeat, and the Toyman, Jourdan, the Conqueror of Cobourg. This justly celebrated General certainly retires, like a lion from his prey, baffled and indignant; —nor does it appear, though possessed of a footing in these frontier towns, that, except their garrisons, a single Austrian will winter in France; and Marlborough scarce got a foot forwarder, after ten campaigns. On the Rhine, there seems to be the like upshot of events, and Wurmser must repass the lines of Weissembourg with a sigh. The only stroke truly aimed at their vitals, is the capture of Toulon *, and may we hold it

* Toulon has fallen; I spoke more with the aspiration of hope than the confidence of retention. The ships, however, are generally lost to France.

fast as the pledge of peace, with all its glorious train of shipping ! 'Twas a home blow, and well laid in, and the best *indemnification* we can receive is, from this complete ruin we have already effected of their navy ; but on this review, where is the hope of subjugation, or even the prospect of compulsion to terms of moderation ? We have made the ineffectual trial, and have experienced only a crusade, as chimerical and destructive as those mad enterprizes of the Hermit Peter to the Holy Land. We cannot, I repeat it, we cannot make a serious impression upon France, under the burning influence of this enthusiasm ; her resources seem to increase with her necessities, and her murderous rage with both ; her soldiers but become more *disciplined savages*, and more able and willing to saturate the earth with blood. We are fighting too the battles of that merciless crew, whose object and interest it is, to make furious the tyger, and keep wet his jaws with gore—and thus we lift a two-edged sword against ourselves ; "the gentle breath of peace

" would

"would perchance leave them on the surface
 " silent and unremoved ; it is the tempest only
 " that lifts them from their place."

The resources of defensive France appear abundant ; their exchequer is heaped with 30 or 40 millions of specie, the spoils of the altar and the throne, and patriotic gifts by *voluntary compulsion*, an almost incredible sum, and nearly equal to twice our circulation ; but the fact stands uncontradicted : and sooth to say, their enormous expences require such a fund. The *hope* of famine dissolves into air, "into thin air ;" their harvests are plenteous, nor is the work of cultivation suspended—the ploughshare does not rust in the furrow. If their armies are swelled to 1,000,000 of men, there are 24 or 25,000,000 behind, for the purposes of husbandry, and the support of life. These are truths, if truths, needful to be known, and I shall be glad to be contradicted. Let us, with equal candour, reverse the picture. I know little of the revenues of Austria or Prussia ; but how they have hitherto supported

ported such a waste of treasure, has been the wonder of many who have a better knowledge of their ways and means ; another campaign, it is asserted, will lay them fairly on their back, motionless and exhausted ; “ necessity’s a sharp ‘ pinch,’ ” and who will then furnish them forth the indispensable sinews of war ?

The barrier that the emperor is to gain, or the patch of territory, that either He or Prussia is to acquire, (for as to ourselves, we aim at nothing, nor can we have an object to aim at, beyond peace and tranquillity) are surely not worth contending for, at the expence of our dearest interests, and the very hazard of our lives and safeties ; and as to forcing a King upon France, it is not merely an idle, but a cruel speculation ; it would only give eventually one more royal victim to the insatiable Guillotine. I am not a despondent nor an alarmist, nor am I even a *lover of honourable war*—distress and misery are its inseparable attendants on either side ; victory itself has ever been ruinous to

us, to France, to all. Let the statue be raised to the Minister that preserved peace to his country; *The Guardian of the unopened temple of Janus*; but in this war, let bankruptcies, manufactures, and expended millions speak for me, and plead, cry “trumpet-tongued against its deep damnation.” Leave these wild beasts to themselves, and they may hunt each other down; blood will have blood; and when you no longer concentrate their force and attention against a foreign object, they may rush on each others throats, and do your work gratis, till sunk, exhausted, and expiring, they may fly for refuge to the constitution they have disdained, or the monarchy they have subverted.—Scarce a political event has ever answered reasonable prediction; allow something then to the changes and chances of this mortal life. In our present situation, we can only be sure of intolerable expenses: it may be said of our millions, as of our moments, “*pereunt et imputantur*:” the expense is indeed certain as death, and, if urged much farther, may be certain death to us. Let

us preserve that *substantial castle in the air*, our Public Credit, that floats, self-balanced, like the world in its own atmosphere, and may they only perish together!

Away too, at all rates, with foreign colonial conquests : if our object be to bring France to reason, France is only vulnerable in France—she derives no present resources from her colonies, and will be pleased to see you exhaust a part of your force, that might be dangerously, if immediately, employed against her vital parts. I like not this expedition to Mauritius ; I speak with less certainty of that to the West-Indies : but the former will only turn out a public expence to Great Britain, as it has ever been to France ; the nursery there of troops to be poured forth upon our possessions in India was raised at monstrous cost, but it has rather proved the grave, both of her subjects and designs.

What prodigious force will it not demand to shake France to the centre ? the storehouse of

Europe will be exhausted ; self-collected and consolidated, they seem to despise all external accidents—they neither regard the loss of their navy, or their colonies—their conduct confounds reason, but there is reason and method in their madness ; that system, which makes every citizen a soldier, and every soldier a citizen, on the principle that every man is the best and safest defender of his own liberty and property, seems to form not only a national, but a nation of militia, and why not as well disciplined as our own ? This great work appears to go on, whatever be the enormities of the capital, or capital towns ; and must be the most effectual defence against invasion, with as little trouble as expence, in a country of 25,000,000 of inhabitants ; standing armies must *every way* fly before them. Wherever the attack is made, ring the alarm bell, sound the tocsin, and one or two hundred thousand men shall leap forth, “all clad in proof,” and marshalled on the spot. Their task performed in repulsing the assailants, they fall back to the plough or to the loom.—This is no ideal system ; already the armies of

France, that have appeared and disappeared, to the surprise, and *sometimes* to the dismay of the combined powers, confirm this new phenomenon in tactics, and surely better merit, than Mr. Burke's Knights of Chivalry, the title of the "cheap defence of nations."

But it may be urged, that I am exposing the evil without the cure ; and that even if we cannot fight, we cannot make peace with these ruffians, without faith, civil or religious, without honour, and without stability. Let us, however, make the *best peace we can* ; its *very return* to France may meliorate their minds, and induce its conversion. The Convention certainly contains the delegated power of the nation, and is, or should be, the organ of the will of the people ;—but if the banditti of that Assembly, dreading in a cessation of war, the consequent loss of their power, should disclaim peace ; or if, with such a perfidious and precarious gang, the formality of a treaty be only an idle ceremony, the matter is at least simplified to our hands. Let us decide at once, and close our concern

concern in offensive war, as discourteously as the French began it, without a herald ; let us withdraw, at least, our armies, and be as insulated in our politics, as our situation. Let us stand on the defensive, and lay up, while yet we may, the resources, to oppose any future attack from France, or her principles ; let us no longer sow our seed among rocks, and upon the sand, but where it may fill the horn of abundance ; let our militia and our standing army line our coasts ; and our fleets, as we have broke the back of the French Navy, block up their ports, and scour the seas at or for their pleasure. Let us reflect, that a *partial* army of invaders must attack a *whole* nation, and that even an hundred thousand men, fairly landed in England, will be resisted by millions of resolute defenders of their lives, property, and country. Let us try if this volcano, no longer so convulsed within its own bowels, will cease to overflow. If it continues to discharge its desolating lava ; if, unconfined within its crater, it points its fiery stream towards Britain, let us

then employ the means, which God, and Nature, and *Peace*, shall have put into our hands, and oppose, I trust, not in vain, the destructive torrent in its course. Meanwhile let us not so idly irritate by too much studied invective, particularly in the great council of the nation ; it is an undignified, unworthy, and dangerous licence ; the curse may recoil, and

" Return the ingredients of the poison'd chalice

" To our own lips."

There are those, that support the war from the terror of a republic, so near and so potent. A great historian has said, that " no republic ever found itself in a situation to harrass its neighbours, without taking the first opportunity to do so." The observation will generally bear the touchstone of antiquity ; but in Rome, the desire, or rather the pursuit of conquest, naturally grew out of the peculiar construction of her government. The nobles (a name that should be unknown in a republic) were compelled to find employment for the bodies

bodies and minds of the people in foreign wars, who were otherwise disturbing their couches of repose at home, and shaking the basis of their power. Thus are the people of France now employed; a discussion of this subject would here be much too long. There is no just reasoning by analogy, nor is there much analogy, between the republics of France and Rome.

The rising state of America, more in point, hitherto makes both against received opinion and precedent; there they worship *peace*, in all the fervour of adoration, and there the spirit truly equitable appears to reign; they understand the one great end of government to be the happiness of the people, and will not shake the solid fabric of their commonwealth thus erected. Brissot, who went there to learn the secret of their prosperity and happiness, found it in the simplicity of their manners—there rests their safety. May they always know it, and remember Rome,

“ Sævior armis

“ Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.”

I have

I have never been able to account for that regular stream of abuse and invective, that from the first has run in this country against the French Revolution. Mr. Burke, a man in whom all the powers of genius, learning, and imagination are united, flamed foremost in the van of anathematists. *It has not, nor it cannot come to good.* France may, at length, indeed deserve our detestation ; but why was their first form of a mixed monarchy, now held out to them by the allied powers, so abominably reprobated ? No similar event, in the annals of the world, was perhaps ever effected with so little bloodshed, and no one will say, they were not in a deplorable want of a better government. I have been well informed, that so completely was every channel drained dry, so hardly was profligate invention driven for rewards for panders and parasites, that a bedchamber favourite's pension of 500l. per annum was squeezed from the *black bread of the galley slaves.*

And

And this, where the revenue was equal to 24,000,000l. sterling, with a circulation of 90,000,000l. sterling of specie.*

I have thus thought it my bounden duty, to submit my opinions with candour, but with deference to the public; if wrong, I shall be happy to learn better from better men. I am not of the desponding cast; *I will not despair of the commonwealth*; and this is the first principle of a true patriot. If we are bent by temporary burdens, we are equal to the elastic spring of recovery; and the same hands that before restored, can again renew our strength. Our melancholy state, at the close of the last war, is in the easy recollection of us all. I at once recal the time, when nearly half the funded property

* France is said to contain far more specie, in proportion, than any country in Europe—for its coin being, from its baseness and alloy, so much less in intrinsic than current value, is not an object or an article of trade, like an English guinea, and therefore stays quietly at home; it is a proof, moreover, of the balance of trade being in their favour with the world in general; Great Britain is, perhaps, an exception, since the Commercial Treaty.

of the kingdom was lost in temporary annihilation ; when the stocks sunk to 56, and even to 55 : and an unfunded debt of 30 millions, like the rock upon the giant, seemed to fix credit for ever to the earth. The roar of Faction was heard in ungovernable rage, suspending the functions of the Executive Powers, and throwing over all the brownest shade of despondency. How brilliant the progressive change of scene, to the commencement of the present war, I need scarce enumerate ; yet the benefits must not be forgotten, nor their authors, for they have deserved well of their country. The people should be told that during that period, though interrupted by expensive armaments, and unforeseen disbursements, the revenues of the state were annually increased, by the immense sum of *four millions sterling*, flowing chiefly from the energy of our manufacturers, the enterprize of our merchants, and the general spirit of the nation ; from taxes rendered more productive, and from an improved and well regulated system, in the

collection

collection of the duties and revenues; the 3 per cent stocks, in some shape the criterion of public welfare, had risen to 97; and the establishment of the Committee of Public Accounts will, I am convinced, reduce, beyond belief, the comparative expences of the present war. I do not here forget the dawn of essential relief, in taking off certain taxes that bore hard upon the lower classes of life, or the reduction of eight millions of the national debt, by the fund of an annual million, swelled by contingent streams, and yet sacredly appropriated to its gradual liquidation.

“Redeant Saturnia regna;” if we are timely wise, “why we shall smile again.” Let us not strain each nerve and sinew till it cracks; the resources of this country are perhaps unfathom-ed, and yet unknown; in this noble empire there may be many channels, whose heads are shrouded like the Nile; let the Minister go forth in his strength, to unlock the hidden springs, “sanctos ausus recludere fontes.” All partial

considerations must vanish before the great state necessity of the general good ; many inordinate emoluments might well be resumed by the public. The Minister, I dare say, could so manage our *three millions* of Poors Rates, that the public and the poor might divide the enormous spoil between them, and the poor still receive far more effectual benefit and relief, with more humane attention, than from the *farming*, or any existing mode. In Scotland, they have no poor rates ; yet extreme want is rarely visible, and crying distress is always relieved. The church, that arrogator of tythes, the direful operation of which the great Adam Smith has so well defined, might relieve the state it is tacked to, without surrendering its sacred cups and chalices ; the public appropriation of many useless endowments, nominal companies, and misapplied charities, that under proper regulations might better fulfil the donor's behest, and yet largely contribute a surplus, may be safely suggested. I could wish to see some assessments fall directly and immediately upon monied men, particularly

particularly the stock-holder, if they can be imposed without affecting public credit; but let the innovating hand beware how it touches that sensitive plant. A *tax on all Tavern-bills* *, above a certain sum, so as the humbler class might be exempted, would be very productive, and very proper. The Theatres too present a fair mark to the financier; no added price of admission, without any moderate limit, will restrain the torrent, that pours into those temples of rational and irrational amusement. The immense sums lavished on Dancers, Singers, Foreign Mimes, Eunuchs, "*et hoc genus omne,*" contain the proof, that the public would bear any contribution, to cherish so precious a breed. They bore the increase of a fifth, from the manager of a rational theatre, without a murmur, and they would cheerfully have the imposition doubled at an Opera House, or the rooms of Hanover-Square; Ranelagh, Vauxhall, and all

* On a rough estimate, the receipts from such a tax appear very considerable; and it could scarce be either felt, or excite a murmur.

places of public entertainment, should be included in the catalogue. You may safely pack upon them ; they have wind and tide in their favour, and will bear a press of sail.—I venture to throw out these skeleton hints, because the Minister does not disdain to convert any information, directly or indirectly received, to the public good.

It is a big thought, that in all the tide of time past, never till the present hour have the most antient people of the earth been blessed with permanency of property, or stability of possession ; never before was their own their own ; never before have they felt that illimitated incentive to industry and improvement, the appropriate security of their lands and labour ; never before have they dared that often-sable enjoyment of wealth, which quickens the current of circulation, and the perfection of every art, manufacture, and science ; trembling incertitude had hitherto sighed, *sic vos non vobis*, and stifled the very idea as it rose, through ages

antecedent

antecedent to our presumed creation ; the happiness thus extended to millions, includes too the willing punctuality of public payments, and multiplied channels of future resource.

I also stretch my eye forward over the expanse of ocean, and foresee, in India, a future solid support to the parent state. I do not say that the government there, is entirely constitutional, or quite congenial to British feelings, nor can it be so modelled, from local necessity, or the nature and prejudices of our millions of subjects in that distant country ; but as we possess that extensive empire, be it productive to us !—We cannot look into the book of fate, but, as far as reasonable expectation can be indulged, possession there is fixed on a permanent basis ; the arch of empire is wide but firmly thrown ; I am again called to give a very high degree of credit to the Ministry, and to the President of the Board of Controul, for it is his due, for the well regulated system of our Asiatic government. The judicious arrangements have

have operated powerfully and progressively, especially the decennial settlement of a fixed unalterable assessment of the revenue, now confirmed for ever : the whip and the wheel, once the horrid but necessary engines of native collection, shall never more disgrace or afflict humanity ; and the integrity and moderation of Lord Cornwallis have farther fixed our security, by *opinion* and by *power* ; he has worthily bought “ golden opinions of all sorts of men,” for himself and for his country. Such is our rooted strength, that the combined powers of Indostan cannot prevail against us ;—but their general confidence, so justly acquired, particularly of the Mahrattas, the only power to be regarded on the one hand, and the fears of Tippoo on the other, shorn of his beams, and smarting from our lash, will, I trust, supersede the necessity of future war. How much depends on one man in such responsible situations : “ *Ob! p̄ sic omnes!* ” Seek anxiously such just and enlarged minds for your Presidents in India, not those mean contracted spirits, that pilfer half,

half-starved praise from the Court of Directors (who are in themselves liberal masters), by paltry savings, from paltry salaries and emoluments.

Yes ; vast are the blessings in store for us, if peace will once more extend its influence over our land ; but the moments are precious, and the times are big with great events. Beware of aggravating the public burdens too far by war, that, while it ruins, removes our loyal defenders, and leaves the field clearer to the demons of Discord. When the guardian dogs were away, the fold fell an easy prey to the wolves. Reflect on the narrow strait that divides us from France, and the tempting asylum that La Vendee, and other desolated portions of that country, hold out to our valuable peasantry, staggering under want and taxes ; we have too much fictitious wealth ; but these are the real riches of the state. Cornelia justly produced her sons, her glorious Gracchi, as her wealth ; and Britain should imitate the Roman matron. Thither

our

our manufacturers and husbandmen may hasten with their *Spinning Jennies* of every description ; the rich stockholder too, cramped in his expences, may fly from the general dearness of things, to milder climates ; that vast mass, that floats between government and the people, has few claims to bind it here ; the creditor of the nation can take his place in the mail, and in a few hours light from the packet in France. The emigrants have imported their language with themselves, as well as the knowledge of their fertile country ; a true-born Englishman was, till lately, persuaded, that their food was frogs, and their land a kind of Bagshot-heath ; he is now acquainted with the delicious banks of the Loire, the Garonne, and the Rhone ; and in future will not be lost there entirely from want of language.

In such a spirit of emigration there would be much danger ; there can be none, in my opinion, where the alarmists affect to see it, from our following the example of France in anarchy and

and licentiousness. The people in this country are perhaps more in danger from the opposite extreme ; they are so scared at the terrific phantom, that though they reflect and reason well, they may rather supinely acquiesce in the encroachments of the Crown, than be ardent in the support of their just rights and liberties.— But should they suffer themselves to be lulled in too deep a slumber, freedom shall blow a blast from her clarion so loud and shrill, that they shall burst the spell, and start into energy and action. There can be no real cause for alarm of tumult and confusion, if they are not driven to *extreme distress* : in that paroxysm, wisdom cannot be taught or heard ; it is a desperate state, and we are as much blinded by the extremes of adversity as of prosperity ; there is otherwise a temper and moderation in the people of England, that will conduct them coolly and calmly to their object. There is a fund of good sense in our middle rank of men, unequalled in the nations of the earth. What station is there, that could not be well filled from

this truly useful class ? Lord Thurlow for once talked nonsense, when he said, “ Mr. Wedgewood might be a good Potter, but he was a ‘ d—d bad politician,’ ” (though one Potter may be worth fifty politicians). Let not the *Sardonic* smile be excited ; it was of such stuff the Legislators and Generals of America were composed ; and it is one of our proudest glories, that the temple of honour is open in this country to talents and virtue. Should they hereafter conceive that their dearest interests are sacrificed to a vain crusade, they may demand with a voice that must be heard, the effectual blessing of Peace. They can speak in thunder, for theirs is the voice of God. They will not now seek for innovations and reforms ; they will chearfully submit to the present system of government, whatever may be its representative defects, as it has proved itself indisputably equal to all executive purposes ; that order may arise out of chaos, and credit and happiness be again established :—And when the appointed hour of Reform shall come, for come, I perceive, it

must,

must, they will deliberately discuss the solid advantages of every innovation, and equally avoiding the wildness of speculation, or the stagnation of prescription, labour by salutary improvement the perfection of the constitution.

So much has been said and written on the subject of reform, but, in general, with the disfiguring virulence of party, that however wide the field of discussion, I cannot pass it over in silence. It is, as usual, the danger and safety, the life and death of the constitution ; and, as usual, all are right, and all are wrong. There is a wide difference between either pulling, or letting an old house fall about your ears, and giving it a needful repair ; the chinks of time, or the defects of bad taste, may be closed and remedied ; and who would wish to exchange the solid fabric, that has braved for ages all the winds of heaven, for a flimsy *casino*, run up by modern architects ? Who would quit Windsor Castle, for one of the stuccoed new buildings of Mary-le-bone. There is a wonderful grandeur

in a pile so nobly irregular ; for we cannot but allow that we have had much patch-work in our constitution, and that it has been built at different times, and by different hands.

I protest, without going further, against every attempt of a change at present. I subscribe to the Minister's position, that this is not the time ; it is the time only for a change of war into peace ; and we will trust him to lay, by public prosperity, the stratum of reform. Our representation is certainly adequate to the purposes of government ; but when I am gravely told, that it is a fair and complete representation, I should be astonished at the boldness of the assertion, if I had not heard, with much the same degree of truth, that quondam article of political faith, " that America was fully represented " in the British House of Commons." This might be called the mystic doctrine of political transubstantiation.—I will not even assert that the members, on the broadest system of elec-

tion.

tion, would be better men, or more honourable—

“ For they are all, all honourable men.”²

But I maintain, that any five hundred names first shaken from a bag, would approach almost as near to perfect representation, perhaps nearer, (for there could be then neither bribery nor corruption) and be as adequate also to the purposes of Government*. It is too gross to pass, that any Duke or Earl, carefully excluded too by the marked barrier of the constitution, should nominate half a score members each. Those worthy wights may represent the noble Peers that summon them to Parliament, but the people would hatch no cuckoos eggs.—The simple state of the question is, not whether the people might choose weaker or wiser, better or worse men, but that they have the right to choose.

* I have not room to rest on the various and heterogeneous burgage tenures, or the corrupt and inadequate representation in toto. The voters “ *apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto,*” and are indeed a drop of water in the ocean—I refer to the “ history of boroughs.”

the men that sit in that house ; in being deprived of that right, they suffer notorious wrong. If the Representatives are not *freely chosen by the majority of the nation, restrained by their instructions* (particularly on the nature and collection of taxes) *and subject to their controul*, there is not, and there cannot be true public liberty. In a public light, the privilege is invaluable ; it is the spark alone, that can warm the wintry cottage, without a faggot from the thorn ; in a private view, it has hitherto, which no voter will deny, been of *sterling value*, while the voteless villager might rot and starve. And if a seat in Parliament *must be purchased like a stock in trade*, to be made the most of by the elector and the elected, if there is no cleansing the Augean stable, which yet in some degree may be effected, let the benefit be at any rate widely extended ; corruption will be, at least, a less easy operation : candidates for fame and fortune will never be wanting, and the poor, by being more courted, and relieved, will be brought nearer the level of fair equality. There is still

farther

farther partiality in the present form of representation ; for the respective members, for obvious motives, are anxious to procure exclusive benefits and advantages for the places they represent ; and particularly from commercial towns, the applications to their members are various and incessant.

If the nervous hand trembles from reverential awe, or from fear of anarchy, to touch the constitution ; when, let us ask, were those halcyon days, in which it was fixed and stationary ? It has been ever fluctuating, or we should not this day have rejoiced in its accumulated blessings.

"*Mobilitate viget, viresque acquirit eundo;*"

It has been improved, and mellowed by the hand of time ; and where is the dread of giving it every polish, every *hair-stroke* of perfection ? Even should the trial be unsuccessful, there still exists the power of repeal ; but there is little danger of that necessity.—What was our

constitution

constitution through the long race of Norman Despots, when the mass of the people were literally slaves, and affixed like beasts of the field to the soil? William assumed the name of Conqueror, from the only title by which he *truly* claimed, and chose to reign. Even Wat Tyler and his adherents demanded, many years after, only an *abolition of slavery*, and were hanged for their pains by the King, after a solemn grant of their claim, and by a mitred ruffian, the warlike Bishop of Hereford.—In Magna Charta I see most wise ordinances, and the basis of the laws of England, but I find nothing of a government by King, Lords, and *Commons*; the King and the Barons, the Barons and the King, ring the perpetual change; the *commonalty* is but once introduced, and that merely as the Barons' instrument to scourge the King*; Henry

* The *legality* of resistance to Kings, so much agitated at the Revolution, seems, in great measure, established by this article of Magna Charta. “After forty days demand, the four Barons shall report the same to the residue of the twenty-five Barons, and then the twenty-five Barons, with the Commonalty

the VIIIth, from selfish policy, unmuzzled the people, and they soon snuffed with extasy the air of freedom ; but they must still have *breathed short*, when that unadulterated tyrant, his successor could pat the head of the Speaker of the Commons, and say, “ Master Montague, “ if you do not pass my bill by to-morrow, I’ll “ have this head from off its shoulders ;” yet this is a period not very remote.

The History of the Rebellion is perfectly understood ; there began the struggle for real liberty, and had they hanged Cromwell, and spared the unhappy Charles, the treaty of New-port, then absolutely concluded between him and Parliament, might have secured to us an almost perfect constitution ; Cromwell called Magna Charta, Magna F——a ; so no more of him ; and the profligate Charles the Second,
 “ Commonalty of England, may distress us by all the ways they
 “ can, namely by seizing our lands, and our castles, and by
 “ whatever means they can, till it be amended, as they shall
 “ adjudge.”

the parricide of his country, which He betrayed and sold twenty times over, died almost a despot in his bed, sealing his power with the blood of Russel and Sydney.

After the expulsion of the monkish James, the Revolution bargain was struck with the Prince of Orange. I bow with gratitude to Lord Somers, and the Whigs, for what they gave us ; they might have given us more, for more has since been gained ; much too is to be allowed in times of commotion, for the want of leisure for reflection, and the impatience for order ; there are those, who declare that every essential prerogative of the Plantagenets, the Tudors, and the Stuarts, was thrown into the royal lap ; corruption, instead of force, became the silent, but not less sure, engine of power ; we thereby put the bridle into our own mouth at our own cost, and dearly has it cost us, but it was "*lined with felt.*" We have ever since been struggling against the power of the crown, that has kept us down under our own treasure ;

and

and the constant tub to the whale, the stalking horse of Opposition, from that time to this, has been to curtail the Royal Prerogative, and resume the people's rights, few of which, by the bye, they ever possessed—but, in return for this profusion of precious gifts, we trumpeted forth a declaration of rights, and told ourselves and the world, which the world certainly did not *then* know, what were the inherent privileges of man.

In this small reflective mirror, I do not discern that immovable constitution so repeatedly held forth. Parliaments were never fixed *;

* In Edward the First's time, the *Commons* should seem not to have had seats in Parliament; “*deliberationem in Parlamento habere, cum Prelatis et Proceribus,*” (the prelates and the nobles) says Edward repeatedly, in a letter to the Pope; the *Pedigree* of Parliament may as well be let alone, as spurious or uncertain; the features of the Saxon Conventions bear no great resemblance; the Folkmote so much talked of, seems to have been the universal assemblage of the people, like the popular assemblies in the forums of Athens and Rome; the Wittemagemot, however chosen, appears to resemble the *Areopagus* or *Senate.*

they were sometimes annual, or oftener, if the *Ardua Regni* required it, sometimes at an interval of 12 and even 15 years, and were usually summoned only to put more money into the King's pocket, when his own engines of extortion failed, or support some preposterous project of the Crown. In fact, the power of the people seems to have been plucked piecemeal from the Crown and from the Nobles.— There are but faint traces in old times of that third estate, which is now found to be all in all. The light of reason, emerging from Gothic gloom, was gradual, as were its effects; and in the long lapse from dawn to day, the changes were slow, but constant. Many valuable sacrifices of prerogative have been made by the Monarch now on the throne, who seems to have discovered the philosopher's stone of British government, in reigning, as the King of the constitution, and resting the full weight of his welfare and his power on the shoulders of the people. On the whole, there does not appear to me a greater stretch of exertion or innovation in a

reform

reform of Parliament, than in the septennial extension of general elections, or any other alteration of the system—but let us not endanger the general safety, by a rash and untimely interference. We have risen to a transcendent greatness among the nations, under the existing representation. Let us choose the tranquil hour of prosperity, to adopt a measure so important, as to renovate, but so mighty as to suspend, the vital powers of Government, lest, through the unguarded passes, anarchy rush in, and we provoke our own destruction. It is a thought of transport to us all, that in the universal shock of change and convulsion, that threatens the European world, we can sit secure on the rock of the constitution; and that we want but little of all that is perfect in human wisdom to bestow. While the tyrannies of Europe have only the bloody catalogue of calamities before them, we can in due time, and at our leisure, reform our Parliaments, or our Church, or our Courts of Law; but the Laws of England will stand unmoved, and the trial by jury, and the liberty

of

of the press, and all the pillars and bulwarks of the British Constitution. We can prune the branches of our darling oak, but the root shall remain unshaken in the center of the earth—

“ *Immota manet ; multosque per annos,*

“ *Multa virum volvens durando secula vincit.*”

Fear not : we know our rights, and will seasonably assert them ; nor is it only on Magna Charta, or any other parchment that *shrivels*, that our claim is founded. Magna Charta is wise and good, but it is fallible, for it is the work of man. We claim also from the broad charter of man's natural rights, perfect, immutable, for it is written, in living light, by the finger of God.

Such reflections will secure every honest heart from all attempts of sedition. There are doubtless infernal spirits on the prowl, and many of the wolves are in sheep's clothing. These ruffians strive to lull the people asleep, “ and

pour

pour into the porches of their ears the leprous instillment." That all power is derived from the people, and that popular opinion is, or should be, the basis of law and government, is now a received axiom of politics; but thereon they attempt to raise those wild theories of impracticable equality, the most monstrous, and consummate doctrine of injustice ever broached; and their infamous object can only be, the subversion of all government, and the *misery of the people*. How far equality extends, I will explain, in two words, from much higher authority than my own,—from Montesquieu, the friend of mankind;—"True equality consists not in establishing that all shall command, and none be commanded, but in the obedience and command of equals (for so we are all in the eye of the law.) It does not seek to have no masters, but to have equals for masters."

The same Montesquieu, after a beautiful dissection of a perfect form of Government, from the action and reaction, the effectual balance and

and reverberation of three powers, concludes with proclaiming to the world, that such is the government England now enjoys.

I will not conceal my confidence, or my satisfaction as the result of it, in the present members of government. They have wrung from me this slow, but hearty approval, from the retrospect of their successful labours for the public good;—they have abjured that wretched sophism, *that the people must be deceived*;—in a system of avowed corruption, they have preserved an uncommon spirit of integrity and independence. If the Minister be proud, I rejoice in his pride; 'tis a pride that becomes him; and smacks both of public, and private virtue. I have been equally observant of the talents and patriotism of Opposition, and the public are much indebted to the keenness of their eye, and the vigilance of their watch. In spite of every outcry, I am convinced, there is more of the sturdy dignity of man, in these times, than, at least, for a series of years. Majorities cannot

cannot now, "be borrowed to carry on the business of the nation," nor can a Minister, on every question, bring his troops to the charge. There is a source of consolation in these reflections, and the mind loves to dwell upon them, or wherever it can find such relief; I often raise the excursive eye with a reverential awe to Washington, perhaps the only mortal that has ever reached the acme of true glory; how simply, how severely great! the western world must feel the same stroke that shakes the fabric of his greatness; it strengthens with his country's strength. How easy too of imitation!—as easy as to sleep; for it is but to be just to human kind, "to make the welfare of mankind your care." He is too, it is said, but a man of the plainest sense, that unerring light, that infallible arbiter betwixt right and wrong; the ignis fatuus of genius dazzles and betrays; there is surely ample materials in William Pitt to form a Washington, and burns he not with just and noble ambition? "*si qua fata aspera rumpas;*"

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if he could shake off the *trammels of system*; might we not predict, “*tu Marcellus eris?*”— Can this be called high flown panegyric, when, it should seem, as far as the sphere of relative action will admit, that common sense, and common honesty, will make any Minister a Washington?

I am aware, that the great subjects I have ventured to touch upon, are of necessity too much compressed, but the limits of a pamphlet will not admit of proper dilation. I am content if an added ray of light shall be communicated to my fellow citizens, at this important crisis; I love my country, I glory in its constitution; I implore *peace* for the one, and every real reform for the other; I am proud, as the King can be, “*in the name of Briton*,” and I rejoice to see him enthroned in the hearts of his people. There he can only reign, there is his only seat of power, and there he may bid defiance to every alarm. His first security is their opinion;

his

his first prerogative, their confidence * ; he *can never die*, for the Constitution requires him, he will truly live, for he loves the Constitution ; let him not be shaken by leaguing with foreign despots, should the people's wish be peace ; the war was his and theirs, be the peace equally mutual ! He has already been favoured above all monarchs, he has enjoyed his apotheosis before death, and, when he awoke to reason, received in life, what no price could buy, the dearest tribute of posthumous affection.

As to the Nobles of the land, they are an integral part of the constitution ; and, as such, must be sacred :—but I know not that I subscribe in my heart to hereditary nobility, much less to hereditary Judges. We may, with much

* Sir William Temple well and wisely says thus : “ As the end of government seems to be *Salus Populi*, the safety or welfare of the people ; so the strength of the government is the consent of the people, which made that maxim of *Vox Populi, Vox Dei* : That is, the governors who are few, will ever be forced to follow the strength of the governed, who are many.”

the same propriety, talk of hereditary merchers, or hereditary weavers. Distinctions, in their nature invidious, should more reasonably close with life, though the wreath, the coronet, or the ribbon, may be suspended in the temple of honour, as the stimulus of emulation. Who can respect, in the tenth transmission of a foolish race, the honours of an illustrious ancestor? It is galling in a drivelling idiot, or profligate antiquick, to assume, or be allowed, a privileged superiority. It is dressing folly in the garb of merit, and compelling merit to bow to it. There are many of our Peers that do credit to their rank and station in private life, and are truly dignified and worthy; I could name many very elevated characters; but scarce three of the three hundred of the old stock, that support their consequence in the senate; the luminaries there are *novi homines*, the authors of their own fortunes, chiefly from the law, "that house of call for the Peerage," and they drive the titled herd before them; as hereditary Judges, when they make the solemn appeal to their breasts of guilt

guilt or innocence in Mr. Hastings's eternal trial*, scarce a third of them will ever have read the heads of the charges exhibited against him. Yet here the Constitution again presents its venerable form ; the House of Lords is one of the three Estates, and must be preserved ; we cannot, whatever the collateral advantages, admit of an elective Nobility, for that would throw too inordinate a power into the hands of the Crown, the only fountain of honour ; so that we must look to the essential good of the institution, as the barrier between the crown and the people ; and bear with the partial evil, even though that august House be reduced, as asserted by one of their own body, to an hospital of incurables.

* It will, however, be worthy the justice of the British nation, to bring this cruel trial to an issue in the course of this Session ; Lord Cornwallis, now on the spot, is an host of evidence ; I hail his return, full of glory and honours, to his native country ; his is truly the *justum et venerabile nomen* ; may Lord Hobart's days be like his : I have one character in my mind's eye very much of the same cast ; and as he is no more, I will pay this tribute to the memory of Sir Archibald Campbell.

But

1st But we need not deal so tenderly with the Church, or with their *annual million and a half*, which is not so blended with the State, as it would wish to be thought. I kneel and embrace religion *—it is the port of refuge from the ills of life; it commutes those ills to blessings, and makes man the better for affliction. It is a Sun that diffuses an equal day under every gloom; it rekindles life when it quivers in the socket,

"And heaven commences, ere the world be past."

But I would strip it of gorgeous trappings and superfluous pageantry; severe simplicity is its genuine aspect; what, or where are Bishops or Dignitaries of the Church? I speak not of the individuals, whom I may respect, but of the body; I know I see them not, but in a division of the

House of Lords, a fixed rim in the circlet of the

* The dread of God has been observed to be the only fear that generates true courage—yet these French atheists receive the stroke of the Guillotine, with more than Roman stoicism or Christian firmness! Even the Messiah on the Cross tenderly suspected that his God had forsaken him; but these thieves utter no complaint.

Crown;

Crown ; they are only made up to be shewn in ceremonies and processions, and we have long since done with those monstrous farces. They are drones of the hive, and most glaringly contradict the pure intent of their creation. It is little to say, that there are a Watson, a Horsley, or a Hurd, among them, or that the whole reverend Bench be wise and learned, for an income of as many hundreds as their thousands, would be more appropriate to such philosophers. They should desire at best to be wrapped in the comfortable *fleecy hosiery* of life. Philosophy is in parlous jeopardy on beds of down, curtained with *purple silk*, and soothed with the incense of grateful flattery, that rises in perpetual steam from the oblations of their chaplains. But this essential oil cannot extinguish the rank smell of hypocrisy ; saugh ! it stinks to heaven. They cannot, they do not, believe one half of what they swear to, and proclaim—they begin with *Nolo Episcopari*, and end as they begin.

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I have much respect for parochial clergy, and honour the establishment. They may be, and are, useful from precept and example; they are, generally, good citizens, good magistrates, and good arbitrators of their parish—but they should be resident. They should not be dancing at Brighton and Bath, capering nimbly to a lady's chamber, breaking their necks in a fox-chace, or knocking, like an undertaker, at the door of a dying Dean, while their *representative*, at 20*l.* or 30*l.* *per annum*, is disgracing himself and his function with a pipe and a pot, at the village ale-house.

When I look from the temple of religion into the temple of the laws, I see there those irreproachable ministers, the Judges, distributing true and even-handed justice; there is no spot upon the purity of their ermine; their decisions are the decisions of equity itself, yet even these sages have shewn the dangerous and restless impulse of the human mind to power, in upholding

holding, with united strength, their monstrous doctrine of libels. What wretched casuistry did they oppose to reason, and the rights of Juries ! and with what awful severity did the venerable Camden hurl the thunder of his eloquence and the constitution, upon their shrinking nerves ; that eye which, black as the storm, scouls dark defiance, “did lose its lustre,” and blinked at the intolerable flash. But though the judgment seat be so purely filled, yet it is a melancholy fact, that the law, meant as the kind preserver, is itself the tyrant of the country. Justice is so entangled in its net, that the rich, whilst they only receive its benefit, can convert it to the severest engine of oppression. The poor man retires with a sigh from the vain pursuit of the most rightful claims, or is lost in the tedious and expensive process. It has been said to require one half of your property to defend the other. The King, in Magna Charta, swears not to sell justice, yet how dearly is justice purchased in his courts ! Let it be proclaimed with abhorrent indignation, that there exist among

us, those petty tyrants of the plain, whose *legal* despotism gives the lie to freedom ; but the groans of the oppressed are not heard ; they are heaved forth in prisons and in dungeons, whose walls and startled echoes only give back the sounds. I shudder at the picture I have drawn, and will drop the pencil. This is indeed a crying evil under the Sun, and calls for the very axe of reform *.

On these miniature sketches, which yet I hope preserve a likeness, some deep connoisseur may remark, that, contrary to my position, I have only etched some traits of the Minister or his friends. My pages must be few ; “*non locus est pluribus umbris,*” and Ministers are the men, we have most to deal with. With strict regard to candour, I must farther confess

* A Committee of the Legislature have already digested a body of information, whose “lightest word harrows up the heart,” the unfolded tale of the prison-house makes “each particular hair to stand an end.” May they persevere to effectual reformation.

I cannot wish for a change, though I acknowledge the merits and talents of Opposition. I pay every homage to the solid and splendid abilities of Mr. Fox, and would most cheerfully vote, that he should receive a public, not a private pension, as the steady guardian of the people's rights. I do not recur to the spring of his political life, when he was "only yet in "blossom," and when his zealous warmth betrayed him into the avowal of some unpopular doctrines, he has since found difficult to reconcile to the man, or to the majesty of the people. I view him in his summer's ardent strength, the leader of Opposition, directing his glowing exertions against the Minister and the Monarch, and in undaunted defence of the people and their cause. His opposing arm might sometimes arrest the regular motions of Government in their course; but he supported, he confirmed, he strengthened the Constitution; the evil was temporary, the benefit shall not pass away.— Yet there are some dark shades that rest upon certain parts of his conduct; in his coalition

with Lord North, there was an hardihood that appalled his nearest adherents ; it seemed a dereliction of every former principle ; it struck at the root of future confidence, and made eloquence itself in its defence, *a brutum fulmen.* In his India bill there lurked an overweening ambition to secure uncontrouled power by its immeasurable influence ; “you,” as Trinculo says, “shall be King ; but I will be Viceroy over you.” On the regency, his doctrines, upholding the Prince’s indefeasible right, were big with those monarchical principles, that had just peeped forth, and retired in the dawn of his public day ; his late support of continental connections is certainly not *ex cathedra*, not from the true school of the Whigs ; and the furor of democracy, that flamed forth in his speeches at the opening of the last session, shook from his side his most attached friends, and were thought to aim at the existence of the Constitution. Yet, as we have much to praise, and much to be grateful for, we can both forget, and forgive the inequalities of a long political life ; every

man

man is sometimes *impar sibi*, and where the powers of the mind are too gigantic to be controlled; it is providential that their force should only thus recoil; softened by time, and smoothed by experience, they will contract within a regulated channel, and roll on in a fertilizing stream.

I speak not, but to despise them, of the puny observations upon his private life. A great mind, so occupied, cannot descend to the minutiae of trifling economy ; his towering rival is equally implicated in the same narrow reflection of little souls. Tell me not, that gaming will woefully depreciate the value of money, and give the air of generosity to the habit of profligacy ; his manly spirit, that rises superior to events, is grossly wronged by such unjust and illiberal suspicions ; He is the soul of honour, and, what I love him for, is that placable mildness of his temper, which, it is said, disdains even momentary resentment. He has a giant's

strength,

strength, but scorns to use it “like a giant,” and this most fascinatingly displays him in his social hours,

“ In wit a man, simplicity a child.”

In the less lengthened career of Mr. Pitt, we shall be compelled to acknowledge an unequalled consistency and dignity of character. He took his first stand on such very high ground, that only his transcendent talents could shelter the noble daring from the imputation of extreme arrogance and presumption. He publicly proclaimed, he would never move in a subordinate situation; the systematic greybeards of the senate were electrified at the sound; a strutting, and a stranger, he despised the wretched gradations of office, and burst forth in meridian splendor; he snapped the cords of party asunder like a thread, and irresistibly summoned the chiefs around him to save their country. Confidence was at once consolidated in this “*beaven born*” statesman, (I use his father’s phrase) and credit boldly rallied under his banner; the tempest

pest that had sorely shattered us, yet beat upon our heads, and we lay like a wreck upon the water, when the youthful pilot stood forth, and seized the helm. He discerned, with true courage, the difficulty and the danger, but felt, in his own strength, the powers to meet them and subdue ; he unaccountably blended the fire of youth with the temper of age, and drew from the vast resources of his mind, those stores of political knowledge, which he applied with consummate skill. While he fulminated his eloquence in the Senate, withering the strong nerves of Opposition, he laboured with acute perseverance through the labyrinth of calculation, to a productive reform of the great branches of the revenue ; while he supported the dignity by effectual interference, and increased the strength and influence of Great Britain by alliances abroad, he indefatigably poured forth from various urns the blessings of general prosperity at home.—Engrossed in the great work of empire, as only worthy his ambition or his passions, he seems either to have triumphed over,

or disdained the enervating pleasures of life, and to have spurned even the social joys of wine, till his country being safe, he could relax with a quiet conscience from his labours. Hercules gripted fast his club until he had cleared the world of monsters. If any imaginary attribute need be bestowed, the good fortune, that has wonderfully attended all his efforts and designs, seems peculiarly to entitle him to the epithet of *Felix*. In this undefinable substitute for prudence and wisdom, the Romans placed the greatest confidence; and there is often an influence of the *Bona Dea*, a spring tide of fortune, that flows through life with some men, which more than supplies the place of every talent.

I am somewhat warmed by this subject, for it is near my heart; I am not afraid of the censure of public or private partiality, for I am not gratified, or honoured by a share of his personal friendship, or ministerial favours on the one hand; and I boldly demand on the other, if this

this country, when the trumpet of war brayed its blast at Temple-Bar, had not reached the zenith of its greatness, and touched the goal of unexampled prosperity!—The great objection of a respectable part of a party to the Minister appears so farcical, that while it proves how little there is to object, I can only treat it in a ludicrous tone. It is alledged, that he got into the palace by the back-stairs ; and this charge is with the greatest gravity harped upon on all occasions. But, if the front stairs were occupied by his opponents, and every door-way blocked up on one side of the house, he had only the alternative of getting in at the back door on the other, or shivering without in the bleak “Sinope” of Opposition ; where, until he could have “tailed the seal (I mean the great seal) “from off their bonds,” he might perhaps have vainly wished for the nutritive consolation of chewing the cud, or sucking his paws.

But my soul is sick of war, though it has hitherto been a war both of the Crown and the

people. I sigh out, as the great Lord Falkland was often heard, “ Peace, Peace.” Shaken as we are, and wan with care, when shall we cease to sacrifice to the mere whistling of a name?—The farther we advance, the less easy the retreat; yet shew me the prospect of success, and my reluctant voice shall join in the war-hoop. I know the question may be forcibly put—Why, with such confidence in Administration, with such resources in the empire, with our fleets and armies embodied, and bearing upon their destined objects of attack, with the prospect of solid indemnification in the possession of St. Domingo, and with our Russian ally *actually* bringing her late, but formidable levies into the field, why, it may be repeated, should we not try another campaign? I have already said, it will be mine and every man’s duty to acquiesce in the decision of Parliament, as yet undeclared. No man shall then join more heartily in “ the long pull, the strong pull, and the pull all together,” till the very cable cracks again: but I shall still wish, though our banners “ be fanned by conquest’s

"quest's crimson wing," to convert the sword
in my hand into the sickle.

I fear we have only forced these Frenchmen to feel their own strength *, and to perceive in our debilitating efforts, the germs of future distress. Do we not dwell too deeply on the danger to be apprehended from their revolution, however established, and frighten ourselves with goblins of our own raising? Any fixed form of government in France, be it what it may, cannot but be eventually beneficial to us, and many

* Their spontaneous armies in the field speak their military force, and their assignats, by the operation of that immense mass of specie before mentioned, are said to have risen greatly; and as all the expences of the war are confined within their own country, resource seems almost inexhaustible; and the more so, as all this wealth unceasingly circulates through their own veins. As these assignats are now the chief property of the nation, it becomes common cause and interest to support them; property itself can only shift hands, and if I am plundered to-day of what you may possess to-morrow, your turn to strip may come next, and another and another after you.

"What's property, dear Jack, we see it alter
thus." "From you to me, from me to Peter, Walter."

The sponge is perpetual; still squeezing, still to squeeze.

advantages may also be drawn by a *peaceful* neighbour, if the storm yet roars louder, and her anarchy grows more wild. Something too may well be left to the chapter of accidents, since the consequences of most political events have hitherto baffled and contradicted all human reason and prediction.—The Union, so happy for either kingdom, was at the time so depreciated in Scotland, that had the English Cabinet known the actual danger, that great design had been abandoned: And who could have foreseen, in the loss of her thirteen colonies, the rising prosperity of Great Britain !

Let us hear again those sounds, that made the heart vibrate, from the lips of the Minister.—Let the tongue of eloquence indeed drop “manna” and scatter real blessings round the land, multiplying the sources of wealth and revenue, extending the channels of commerce, contracting the burdens and expences of the nation—but He shall himself come forward, and confirm my sentiments. I will close with some

brief

brief extracts from his speech, at the last opening of the Budget, a master-piece of argument and eloquence, that Cicero might have owned, a glowing subject that Cicero was denied :—

“ This unexampled prosperity and these efforts
 “ have been undoubtedly not a little assisted,
 “ by the additional intercourse with France,
 “ in consequence of the Commercial Treaty ;
 “ an intercourse, which though probably check-
 “ ed and abated by the dissensions now prevail-
 “ ing in that kingdom, has furnished a great
 “ additional incitement to industry and exer-
 “ tion ; but there is another cause still more sa-
 “ tisfactory than these, in the constant accu-
 “ mulation of capital from the continual ap-
 “ plication of the annual profit, or of a part
 “ at least, added to the total amount ; the great
 “ mass of the property of the nation is thus
 “ constantly increasing at compound interest,
 “ and its powers are augmented, in proportion
 “ as they are exerted ; it acts with a velocity
 “ continually accelerated—with a force conti-
 “ nually increased ; no limits can be found to

“ its

" its operation, while there exists at home any
 " one object of skill or industry, short of its
 " utmost possible perfection ;—one spot of
 " ground capable of higher improvement and
 " cultivation, or any new market abroad that
 " can be explored, or any existing market that
 " can be extended. But these circumstances
 " are obviously and necessarily connected with
 " the duration of peace ; the continuance of
 " which, on a secure and permanent basis, must
 " ever be the first object of the foreign policy of
 " this country. They are connected still more
 " with its internal tranquillity, and with the
 " natural effects of a free, but well regulated
 " government."

Peace then is an indispensable support, the
 corner-stone of a system so truly admirable and
 sublime ; and let us hold the angel fast *in any*
shape, until she bless us. Leave France to try
 new and fantastic experiments in government ;
 and imbibe, in silent observation, the most pre-
 cious

cious lessons of wisdom at her cost. Let her, if it likes her, tamper with her constitution by bleeding and quackery, till she bring herself to death's door ; let us keep the unwearyed eye fixed and rivetted upon *Commerce*. This is our inestimable mine ; from its golden stores *alone* our revenues must be drawn ; and thereon, from the magnitude of our taxes, and national debt, our very existence depends.—Wisely, and not vainly, have this Ministry laboured to deserve, and may they be distinguished as, “*the Commercial Administration.*” Tis a cognomen truly *British*, and the proudest, on local and relative ground, their country can bestow. We cannot listen to Utopian systems now ; 17 millions of taxes already crush the shadowy alternative of *Agriculture* or *Commerce*. “Our sea of glory” demands in future the confluence of every stream : in that sea we have ventured “these “many summers on the bladders” of credit, and “far beyond our depth ;” may they never “break under us !”—but commerce only can keep them buoyant.—Let us supply the European

pean and other nations of the earth, and France into the bargain, for there, since the Commercial treaty, will be found our most lucrative market, with provisions, cloathing, arms, ammunition, and every needful and superfluous article of life, and without the expence of protecting our trade, or endangering our merchant fleets.—So shall the King, the People, and the Minister rejoice; and Britain be, what it should be, the Throne of Freedom, and the Emporium of the World.

THE END.

[4]

POSTSCRIPT.

THE preceding pages were put forth in a
very limited private edition, at a great
distance from the Capital; since which, many
important events have taken place, and the will
of Parliament, upholding the recommendations
from the Throne, has been decidedly declared
for the most vigorous prosecution of the war;
and the will of the people, from every informa-
tion I have gleaned, on my return to town, ge-
nerally coincides with the resolutions of their
representatives. Now then, for the "long pull,"
"the strong pull, and the pull altogether."—
But, exclusive of the duty of unanimity to our
country at this momentous crisis, there appears
such solid grounds for one more collected blow,
one vast effort of general combination against

to yesterday

L

France

France and her systems, from the Minister's representations, the declarations of the Convention, and other public sources of intelligence, that with heart and hand will I, and so I trust will all, break another lance with these buccaneers of the creation, and draw the arrow to the head; if they spit forth, with such venom of indignation, their black resolves of invasion, and final destruction of this country, one more campaign cannot aggravate, though it may extenuate, both their wish and power to dance the *carmagnol* on the smoking ruins of this majestic empire; if these enemies of God, and his saints, and his creatures, can play the Spartan, and "imitate the honorable Romans in brevity," they shall find that we can give them the same short answer, even should Hannibal be at our gates, in the shape of a Citizen—Toymen, Blacksmith, or Postillion.

The two great occurrences of the retreat or repulse of the Austrians and Prussians beyond the Rhine, and the evacuation of Toulon, may, whatever

whatever the temporary alarm, be eventually beneficial; emboldened by success, and insatiate for blood and plunder, the French may quit their defensive mode of war, and meet destruction by the recoil of their own system; the *mass* of the people will every where rise to protect their property, families, and household gods, from such lawless ruffians, and they cannot, beyond the bounds of their own country, be floated on paper wings; their assignat will scarce be worth the old rag it is made from; even if Prince Cobourg, as is probable enough, should experience the same repulse with his brethren in arms on the Rhine, the disaster may only more advance the great work of peace, not only as it may more seriously incline the allies towards that object, but the French, if we give them any credit for political sagacity, may pause on the Rubicon of foreign conquest; they must know that France is possibly already too cumbersome for a republic, and that to add to the superstructure would only be, by excessive weight, to bring the whole fabrick, pillars and all, about

their ears. As to Toulon, well, perhaps, had it been for us, could we have quitted it, in as few moments after possession, as the match could be put to the train ; its retention ever appeared to me problematical, and its defence contributed to divide and fritter away our force ; but the demolition of its docks, and store-houses, and arsenals, and the capture of a navy in the bosom of its harbour, that gives a temporary stab to the existence of France as a formidable naval power, ought to be owned by every Englishman as the probable insurance of salvation ; it was a silent, bloodless victory, but more worth than the proudest triumphs, and the effects will be more essentially beneficial than can be felt or acknowledged, as they will bear upon the future with powerful, but undefinable operation. Their navy should be still the first great object of destruction ; to effect its utter ruin, let the expeditions be not only bold but desperate, nor let even Brest, or any other harbour, shelter them from our fire-ships and our fury.

and I allude

I allude above, as may readily be perceived, to the inefficacy of any invasion from France, from the thus crippled and reduced state of their navy ; whether they may or may not be mad enough to make the trial, I will not presume to determine ; they may attempt to scale heaven, and in fact they have so ; in their infuriate condition, the most desperate are the most eligible enterprizes ; but I will predict the certain annihilation of them and their flat-bottomed boats, be their numbers what they may ; thank God, they will not find a soul so base as to join them here ; their flota must be an open prey to our domineering fleets ; the flying fish to the dolphin not more easy and helpless ; and, unsupported from either shore, or beyond the reach of assistance, and opposed not only by our army and militia, but by the people in a *mass*, where is the shadow of hope, or chance of escape !— They will scarce, in all their fury and folly make so wild an attempt, or rush so inevitably into the lion's jaws ; they thought to have found treason in the State, but they are deceived ;

ed; they thought to have cajoled the honest Briton, but he truly understands freedom, and hugs his birth-right; he knows that their eyes gloat at the very idea of the glorious plunder, the golden spoil of this unrivalled nation, and dreads the fraternal as the adder's kiss; the Frenchman, if admitted, w^{ld} at once make the Irish division of the House, and give us the outer portion to shiver by; but should they ever, a circumstance almost inconceivable, escape our fleets, and effect a landing, they shall be welcomed as they merit, they shall be embraced "till they shrink beneath the courtesy,"—but with a soldier's arm.

This rumour of invasion, I conceive also of further advantage, as necessarily operating to keep our fleets and armies more at home; that the French will come if they can, properly accompanied with the Guillotine, to purify our Merchants, and rasp our Nobles and Citizens with that razor of their State, is undubitable; our safety lies only in our power of prevention;

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but

but while we concentrate, or domesticate our force, we must, in course, greatly abandon all foreign or colonial objects of attack ; and I rejoice that the one against Mauritius is probably laid aside, as, with every admission of the best intentions of Administration, I have, as I before observed, ever considered them probably ineffectual, more certainly as useless and unavailing expeditions. I will confess, that I should not be sorry to see their gasconade of invasion attempted ; the certain defeat and ruin that would await the experiment, would break the force of our enemies, as of their boats, like egg shells on our coasts ; prove our strength and union ; remove baseless alarms and apprehensions ; and, from disappointed hopes, probably put the Committee of Public Safety under their own Guillotine.

It is certainly a strong argument for prosecuting the war, that, by the unprecedented exertions of Ministers, our naval and military forces are equipped and completed beyond all former

former establishments, in the same space; that the supplies are raised almost unfelt and unperceived; and that even, if hitherto, in some instances, mistaken or disappointed in the object, we should not throw away our efforts, our money, or our men, thus prepared, as we may direct our prodigious powers to more effectual successes. I must also remark, that the imputation of blame upon Administration, for any presumed failures, was not a little ungenerous, on the part of Opposition; when it is acknowledged, that the general equipments were, under many repressing circumstances, efficiently completed beyond example, the culpability, if any, from want of eventual success, should be justly charged to the several Commanders; at the point of such effective preparation, ministerial responsibility not only should end, but public approbation should begin, particularly if the projects be allowed to have been well planned, and the force adequate to the design, and I have not yet heard an adverse insinuation to either fact.

Another

Another stimulus to war, with me at least, arises from the Minister's assertion in the House, and I am in the habit of crediting his word, that the finances of France, so strained by violent engines, must soon burst into a thousand shivers; he, doubtless, has good grounds for the declaration, which, if verified, will be adequate to every victory, and ensure the return of peace on the most desirable terms; that the French financiers, on various pretexts, by fraud or force, have proceeded through the pillage or assumption of the property of all orders of men, is an undeniable fact; the gradation has been regular, from the Nobles to the Priests, from the Priests to the Bankers, from the Bankers to the Merchants and Traders; perhaps a portion of the landed property only remains inviolate, but whether they have already expended these immense resources, or whether, as they assert, they are yet, in great part, reserved for the support of the war, and the exigencies of the State, is more than I can take upon me to decide; there certainly appears the hope of some crisis of

distress and embarrassment among them, if it be true that the farmers have returned their leases upon the hands of the Convention, for the want of husbandmen, and other means of fulfilling their agreements ; and rumour speaks loudly of the total annihilation of their manufactures, where all are rushing, for pay and plunder, to the war.—Here is another great card we have to play, though somewhat by the Machiavel rules of the game ; the ruin of their manufactures must be in equal ratio the rise of ours ; their wants must be our wealth ; our war expences, though great, are limited, and may be nobly repaid by unlimited commercial benefits, and supplies of the markets of France, and of those markets that France supplied.

Another motive for the war results from the featherly lightness with which the additional taxes have been so fairly and so finely diffused ; their impression is scarce perceptible, we feel no advance of any needful or convenient article of life ; nor will the poor be stinted, in the final

lest fraction, of those comforts they have hitherto possessed ; this is manna to the mind and body too, and irrefragably justifies the national confidence in the present Administration, in peace or war ; but as these plans of finance have extorted even the commendations of Opposition, I need not expatiate on their excellence or merit, we see their benefits feelingly, and acknowledge the blessings in their effects ; our general condition is meliorated and improved since the onset of the war, by the revival of credit, and also, in a great degree, of manufactures, notwithstanding the hoarse murmurs of the whole chorus of croakers. Further are we impelled to war, by the unqualified menaces which the Convention, and their masters, the Jacobins, vomit forth, with the most inflamed inveteracy, against this country, branding every proposal of peace even with the crime and penalty of treason, and widening every way the dreadful gulph between us ; the perplexity is thus in the highest degree increased, and the Minister's assertion, that there is neither the

channel of negociation, nor authority to treat with, is more readily admitted ; we must take also the chapter of accidents into the scale ; and in the troubled ocean of France, who shall presume to predict which way the mighty waves may roll ; whether the storm may still drive, or its tumultuous bosom be hushed at length to peace ? At all rates, it seems there will be an unexampled exertion among all the combined powers ; that the sagacious Russian, feeling her crown sit less easy on her brow, is resolute, it is said, to bring forward on the stage of Flanders, 80,000 of her hardy subjects ; but watch her well, and trust her as you would adders fanged ; her ambition knows no bounds or limits, but those of the world ; *extra flagrantia mænia mundi*, she can scarce presume ; and that the general confederacy will unpeople their realms, to furnish adequate supplies of troops for the consummation, I trust, so devoutly to be wished, of a firm and honourable peace.

There
leaves

There are those, and there is more “the antique Roman than the Dane,” in the suggestion, who, even with the loss of America and our hundred millions before their eyes, the last of which might have been saved by a pacific system, disdain the idea of a proud and spirited nation, sacrificing its glory to its interest, and tarnishing its character, by shrinking from a doubtful contest ; the Abbé Raynal is rapt in admiration at the affecting greatness this country awfully displayed, when oppressed by enemies and evils in the American war, he disdained compromise, and rejected the mediation of Spain ; he is transported at the sublimity of such an object ; and they, perhaps with more reason, assert, that the relinquishment of one object or demand, but involves a second, more wanton and exaggerated, till every possession be swallowed up, and contempt be super-added to misery and ruin ; wiser therefore, as well as nobler to meet the tempest, and burst it, perchance, ere it gathers in a resistless body over our heads, than wait to be overwhelmed.

We

We are not to suppose, that in supporting the war, the minister and his associates are inimical to peace ; Mr. Pitt has expressly declared his readiness to negotiate, if any assurance, or reasonable conviction can be given of its stability ; he is too wise not to regard peace, as the ultimatum of all our efforts ; it is from that wisdom that he holds the lofty and energetic strain of language, that inspires confidence at home, and excludes presumption in France. And with the same wisdom he will follow up his declarations, by effective preparation for action ; it may also be possible, that the French may adopt the tone of unaccommodating reprobation, at least, some of their less savage leaders, that they may assume a more imposing air of negotiation, and secure better terms in the hour of general reckoning ; indeed the late report of Barrere seems to soften off the blood-red colours of revenge and war ; Peace is the burden and subject of his harangue, though tricked in guise and garb adapted to his audience. There seems however, an error, in confounding men with principles ;

ciples ; I should be inclined to regard the men with whom I have treated as a matter of perfect indifference, as “forked radishes,” and mere machines, and should look only to the principles they uphold ; I would disclaim all communication with Danton and Robespierre, under the moon-struck influence of their all-subversive system ; but I would join issue, and treat with them, or any one else, properly constituted, when they disclaimed such principles, and abandoned their damnable doctrines : such conduct sounds to me not only as sound policy, but as essential to security.

Nothing can more fully establish the general belief and conviction of the wild, anarchic state of France, than Mr. Pitt's unnoticed proposal to Mr. Fox to undertake a mission to Paris, to negotiate a peace. It was a complete triumph to the Minister, and an entire confirmation of his representations ; surely, whatever the obstacles and objections, Mr. Fox should have taken him at his word : where can the Patriot

be

be so brilliantly displayed, as in procuring peace for his country ! Can glory shed a more lovely or a softer lustre ! Why would not some animated partizan answer for his leader, and spring forward to embrace the proffer ; were they all chop-fallen ! And is it a melancholy proof that their words are at variance with their thoughts, and actions ! I declare, and I have a remnant of property and life to lose, that were my talents equal, I should not have hesitated to take up the gauntlet, nor should I scruple, if honored with the offer, to accompany such a man as Mr. Fox, in a subordinate capacity, on an occasion the most important that can well be conceived.

"Tis to the goal of peace that every step must tend, and as we are to attempt to reach it by war, our unanimity must be of wonderful efficacy ; when France shall perceive, and every event flashes conviction, that we are an united people, and the nation has but one arm and one heart, they may feel the necessity of being at peace

peace with those, they cannot wound, because they cannot divide ; if they are *an armed nation*, and I am somewhat proud that the Minister should have fallen in with this suggestion of mine in the preceding pages, which I can scarce suppose he has honoured with his attention, we are also ready to arm *in toto*, and pour the deluge of a *mass* upon all invaders ; with more tranquillity shall we return into the bosom of our families and country, after scourging the assailants, than, I apprehend, those vast armies of France, when disbanded, will be induced to retire ; the dread of being reduced from present pay to poverty, may operate to an horrible application of the arms in their hands ; they may become so many tygers let loose upon society ; and this, perhaps, may have its weight with the Convention, in urging the full fury of the war. I would, however, venture to recommend some specific line to be drawn on our part, some definitive object of our views and intentions to be promulgated, that even the French may be able to ascertain, what we really pro-

pose as our ultimatum ; how can the most moderate men reconcile the Declaration of Lord Hood, the Manifestoes of the Duke of Brunswick and Cobourg, his Majesty's Proclamation, and the Resolutions of the Royalists ; by being thus indefinite, we not only give cause for suspicion, but fix no port of refuge for the best disposed minds, there is no resting place or rallying point, or standard of union ; every man floats, in a great measure on the wide sea of uncertainty, and thereby our cause, which is that of justice and honour, wears a mysterious and questionable shape, as if havoc and confusion lurked beneath the masque.

Broad and strait as I acknowledge the path to be, pursued by Ministers, I give this hint, in the full persuasion, that every prejudicial effect of inadvertence will easily be rectified. Perhaps, the only just causes of war are, firstly, our own security ; and, secondly, an indemnity where the enemy has been the obvious aggressor ; wars of ambition or vengeance are infernal in their principle

principle and consequences ; here the French are proclaimed to be the aggressors in substance, and in form : in substance, by that Decree of the Convention, which held out encouragement and support to rebels and insurgents of all nations, and was, in fact, an act of hostility against every State in Europe ; in form, by their Declarations of War against the two leading Powers of the Confederacy, the Emperor of Germany and the King of Great Britain ; but as no object can weigh a scruple in the scale against a peace, on such terms as may reasonably ascertain our security, and its own stability ; so, whatever the excesses of France, it may be advisable to relinquish in part, or even *in toto*, the secondary claim of indemnification, rather than put to hazard the assurance of the more effectual blessing ; as to the rest, if France shall disavow all interference in other Governments, we shall, as the Minister has declared, be ready to abandon all interference in theirs ; it is wise, at the same time, to hold out a strong impressive language, and to follow it up by action. On a

review, therefore, of *The Prospect before Us*, I am led to hope, that the hour of tranquillity is not far distant, but that, under our present pilots, we shall soon ride safely at anchor in the haven of peace; and so, in the true mercantile phrase, God send the good ship to her desired port in safety.

As this Pamphlet was issuing from the Press, the Marquis of Lansdowne put forth his Speech and Motion for a Peace; he was ably answered on the spot, upon the most important points, by the Lords Grenville, Caernarvon, and other Peers; but were not these pages already sufficiently swelled, I could have wished to have attempted some separate observations on his Lordship's harangue, in which there is much of vague and desultory declamation, but much also of volcanic and inflammable matter, that should be extinguished before it spreads; he has bestowed

stowed his tediousness upon his noble brethren, but often dispels the yawning influenza by sounds of serious, and, let me add, mischievous alarm ; if he has probed or bared the wound, he has neither administered nor attempted a remedy or relief ; and he often appears to have blown the terrific blast, but with the uncertain breath of rumour ; there should seem to mark the design to involve Great Britain and Spain in mutual jealousy and distrust, by instilling in our minds that foulness of suspicion, which he insists to be the general principle of the Spanish Court ; and he grudges the guardian of the Alps a necessary subsidy to close his iron barrier against the passage of the French into Italy. I cannot find, from any public channel of intelligence, that General Washington and America are irritated at the conduct of this country, much less, as his Lordship evidently insinuates, that they are inflamed to a public declaration of war ; I have yet further been told of their general fiat of approval to the measures of this Government, and their inflexible resolution to adhere

adhere to the strictest neutrality; I cannot also but admire at the seeming short-sightedness of so veteran and inveterate a politician, in his Lordship's supposing that the Emperor of Germany, should the Duke of Tuscany ever mount the throne of the Cæsars, would follow up the resentments, or be guided by the political rules of his present character and situation; he has now attempted to retain that system of neutrality, which, from his vicinity to France, as well as from commercial considerations, is obviously for the interest and welfare of the Grand Duke and his Florentine subjects; but, as Emperor, he would hold another language, and adopt the views and objects of the Imperial Court, and be decisive, from the same proper and political motives, to join, *totis veribus*, the grand confederacy against the mortal enemies of the German Empire, without a retrospect to any measures of our's, or other Governments, that rigid policy might have once dictated or demanded. I as ardently pant for peace as the Marquis of Lansdowne, but I well remember the old fable

fable of the bundle of sticks : let unanimity, I repeat, be the Order of the Day, for as matters now stand, it does not appear how a peace can immediately be expected, even on the basis of his Lordship's own reciprocity, heretofore so accurately defined by the late Earl of Guildford ; a reciprocity, founded on our retribution, without a return.



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ORIGINAL
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BETWEEN
GENERAL
DUMOURIER, MIRANDA, PACHE AND
BEURNONVILLE,
MINISTERS OF WAR,
SINCE JANUARY,

1793,

Including the Orders of General Dumourier to General
Miranda, from the Invasion of Holland to the Overthrow
of the French, after the Battle of Nérwinden.

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